

Socialists to Organize Every State for 1928

Special Organizer to Start Nation-Wide Organization September 1, 1927 - Debs' Great New Book to Be Used to Put Appeal on Map - William H. Henry Is Re-elected National Secretary

The Socialist Party laid plans for the most complete and vigorous national campaign in 1928 since the War at the regular quarterly meeting of the National Executive Committee May 22 in Pittsburgh, Pa. An energetic campaign organizer will be installed in the National Office in Chicago by September 1, this year, whose sole duty will be to go through every phase of the state primary and election laws, provide data on all these for the various state organizations and make preparations to organize the forces to put a state Socialist ticket in every state.

Convention in January

Following this preliminary work, the Socialist Party is going into the 1928 presidential campaign before any other party in order to insure thorough, nation-wide nomination of candidates and propaganda and organization work that will cover the country completely. To this end the date for the national convention of the Socialist Party has been set for January 14, 1928, at Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Milwaukee or New York. This will put the Socialists in the field ahead of all other parties and soon enough to forestall any move of the enemy to keep the Socialists off the ticket in any state.

These plans were the outstanding achievement of the N. E. C. at its meeting. In a ringing and inspiring appeal to the entire party membership these decisions are set forth, and the encouraging developments and conditions that will make possible their realization are given and the Party membership was called to make the supreme effort that will undoubtedly put the whole program over. This Party statement and call to action appears in this article.

Big Plan for the Appeal

An important step was taken calculated to insure the prosperity of the American Appeal during the remainder of 1927. The American Appeal and National Office staff was authorized to take charge of the publication immediately of Comrade Debs' last book, "Walls and Bars." This book is Debs' own account of his prison experience and a smashing attack by this great Socialist and humanitarian on the iniquities of the prison system under capitalism. It is a fascinating work and one of tremendous value for which there will be a great nationwide demand.

The National Office and Appeal staff was authorized to have printed immediately a deluxe edition of this great work which will be sold on advance order, and a cloth-bound volume, the price of which will be \$1.50. This latter volume will be given away as a prize in connection with the present Sub-A-Month Organization drive. Full particulars regarding the deluxe edition and the prize offer will appear in an early issue of the Appeal.

Henry Re-elected Secretary

Secretary William H. Henry was re-elected unanimously to serve the ensuing year and his ability and energy will be behind the drive to make the 1928 campaign and the American Appeal pronounced successes.

The ambitious plans for the 1928 presidential, congressional and state campaigns and for the American Appeal, were based upon encouraging data and reports received from all sections of the country.

Secretary William H. Henry reported that for the first four months of 1927 the membership of the Socialist Party was 803 greater than the average

for 1926. A general increase in interest and activity, he reported, will make it possible to keep at least two organizers in the field during the summer. Encouraging reports were received from the Young People's Socialist Department, and the Language Federations.

Numerous appropriations of literature were made for various state organizations to assist them in their work. A pamphlet on the farm situation was approved and referred to Comrade King to be revised and run in the American Appeal, and later to be issued in pamphlet form.

Important resolutions passed at the meeting appear on this page.

Pittsburgh a Lavish Host

Pittsburgh, as usual, accorded the visitors splendid treatment, enabled the Party to defray much of the expenses of the meeting. The Committee members were specially honored at a dance given on the roof garden of the Hotel Saturday night. At a mass meeting in the Labor Lyceum Sunday afternoon and a banquet Sunday evening collections and pledges totalled around \$400.

Call to Action

The Party Call to Action follows: Members of the Socialist Party, Greetings: Your National Executive Committee has concluded its sessions at Pittsburgh. This meeting was devoted exclusively to the problem of organization. In preparation for this meeting your committee has considered a survey of our prospects and problems in every State and has planned party work accordingly.

The results of this survey are so important that we believe it worth while to call your attention

to them. The most significant fact which the survey reveals is that the Socialist Party is practically the only political organization of the working masses that is functioning in the United States on a national scale.

There is only one conclusion to be drawn from this. The rallying center for the rural and urban workers in the national campaign next year will be the Socialist Party. The two parties of capitalism and imperialism will leave no other refuge for awakened and thinking workers than the Socialist Party. In other words, the pre-war period when the Socialist Party represented the protest against capitalism and its servile parties will again confront the voters of the nation.

Will Cooperate With Real Labor Party

These conclusions are based upon a careful survey of facts and present tendencies. Should the organized workers in the meantime cut adrift from the parties of the ruling classes the Socialist Party will do its duty as a party of the working class. It has no interests or aims opposed to an independent party of the organized workers. It holds aloft the banner of independent party action of the workers but will welcome the organization of a genuine Labor Party in the United States. It will cooperate with such a party should it appear, not divide the forces of the working class.

Our Present Duty

For the present there is no indication of the appearance of such a movement. Our opportunity and our duty are plain.

We must organize the thinking masses in the Socialist Party, hold meetings, distribute literature, increase the circulation of the party press, and

prepare to nominate candidates in every State of the Union.

We must take up this work now. We have decided to hold our national nomination convention in January, 1928. A special national organizer will be added to the National Office staff. He will give special attention to organization work in the weaker states and will assist these states in preparing for the campaign and placing their candidates on the ballot.

It now remains for the party members, our friends and sympathizers, to cooperate with the party in carrying out our plans.

The Situation and Our Opportunity

Comrades, The United States has become an empire. Secure in our domination over the world, financial classes have inspired a government policy of cynical conquest of all Latin-America. It is now the custom to wage war against little nations to the south of us in the interest of American banks, oil magnates and other investors. Our American imperialism is a menace not only to the peace of the world but to the freedom of our people at home. Freedom of the press, of meetings and discussion cannot survive under a government committed to ruthless conquest abroad.

Enormous aggregations of capital in alliance with our great banks today dominate our economic life. The Republican and Democratic parties are the political agencies for perpetuating this economic and political rule of our upper class of capitalists and bankers. The only movement promising a release from economic servitude and political subjection is a party of the workers pledged to take political power from the parties of capitalism.

We call you to service to the Great Cause. The measure is real, the opportunity is evident. We ask your hearty cooperation for the great work that must now be accomplished.

British Laborites Take Solemn Pledge In Fight With Foes

Close Their Ranks With Binding Covenant to Stick to Last Ditch

The American Appeal does not stand alone in the present crisis in the call for a pledged organization to meet the big war.

The whole British labor movement is being reborn and reborn by a new pledge of loyalty, faith and WORK for the CAUSE in the face of the present murderous attack by the Tories in the form of the Tory anti-trade union bill which is only designed to deprive the unions of the ability to strike, but also to bankrupt the Labor Party.

A new and solemn covenant between organized workers is being signed by hundreds of thousands from one end of Great Britain to the other. It is giving England a new army of Covenanters which like the old Covenanters of Cromwell are throwing their soldiers on the battle front in defense of sacred rights and liberties.

"At the great working-class demonstrations against the Blackleg's Charter," says a recent issue of the London Herald, Labor and Socialist daily, "the first of which are to be held at this week end in over 20 big industrial centers the audiences will be invited to swear a solemn covenant."

"Recalling the sufferings of the pioneers of Trade Unionism, the Covenanters will pledge themselves to safeguard the heritage won and hand it on, not diminished but augmented, to those who come after."

The pledge reads as follows:

Trade Union Covenant
WE, Trade Unionists and Members of the Working-class, custodians of the heritage of freedom and right of association and organization won by our forefathers, the pioneers of Trade Unionism, thousands of whom underwent transportation for life, imprisonment, victimization and punishment of all kinds to obtain that freedom and right of association and organization,

here and now solemnly pledge ourselves to safeguard that heritage, no matter what the consequences may be to ourselves, with all our strength of mind and body to the utmost limit of our power.

REALIZING the full significance of the attack that is now being made upon Trade Unionism by this Tory government, we take upon ourselves the obligation

never to cease from striving to keep our Trade Unions intact and to build them up and strengthen them so as to guarantee to them the fullest freedom of action, and to hand on to those who come after us a powerful and invincible Movement to defend their rights and maintain their liberties.

Comrades of the Appeal Army, there is just as great a labor crisis in America as in England. It is the crisis of paralyzing inaction, of blighting indifference.

Will you help organize AN ARMY OF AMERICAN COVENANTERS? Will you be as brave and as game as your brothers in England? If so, clip out and sign the pledge at the bottom of the front page.

SOCIALIST PARTY URGES SACCO-VANZETTI PROBE

The National Executive Committee, representing the Socialist Party of America, and a subsequent Pittsburgh mass meeting, demanded full re-examination of the Sacco-Vanzetti case by Governor Fuller following an unanimous resolution passed at the regular quarterly meeting, Pittsburgh, Pa., May 22, 1927.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY,

Alvan T. Fuller,
Governor of the State of Massachusetts,
State House, Boston, Mass.

The Socialist Party of the United States through its National Executive Committee joins in the universal appeal to you in behalf of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti. With millions of other men and women we believe that the two men have been tried before a biased court in a morbid atmosphere of post-war hysteria, that they have been convicted because of their radicalism and pacifism, and that they are innocent of the heinous Brantree murder. Their execution at this time would revive the disgraceful war hatreds and here y hunting of the darkest period in history of our country and would leave an indelible blot on Massachusetts' justice.

To merely commute their sentence would be an evasion of the solemn duty cast upon you as governor of your state. We urge a thorough and searching public re-examination of all proceedings in the case and fearless action in accordance with the conclusions honestly reached.

All friends of justice and fair play from one end of the world to the other are anxiously watching your action, Governor Fuller.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE SOCIALIST PARTY

Victor L. Berger, Joseph N. Sharts, James D. Graham, W. R. Snow, Morris Hillquit, Wm. J. Van Essen, James O'Neal.

Wm. H. Henry, Executive Secretary.

13 Million Workers for Sacco-Vanzetti Power Trust Fights Flood Cure Fearing Public Ownership

Amsterdam, Netherlands. — From the headquarters here of the International Federation of Trade Unions the following protest has just been issued:

(I. F. T. U.) In the name of 13 million organized workers, from 25 countries, affiliated with us, we add our voice to world protest against execution of Sacco and Vanzetti. Five years' imprisonment with constant fear of coming death sentence, is punishment sufficient to atone for almost any crime; it is martyrdom for innocent persons. In the name of justice, therefore, as well as in the name of that humanity, of which your country is so proud, we hereby send in our solemn protest against the execution of these two innocent men.

Debs Radio Fund Negotiating for Station in East

NEW YORK.—Negotiations are under way for the purchase of a high-power radio broadcasting station in the East to be controlled by the American labor and progressive movement, it was announced today by directors of the Debs Memorial Radio Fund, which is seeking "to perpetuate the voice of the late Eugene V. Debs," the noted labor leader. Station WDEBS, as it will be called when the station changes hands, is expected to be part of a chain of similar broadcasting stations "hooking up" throughout the country. Already, the Chicago Federation of Labor has established Station WCFE, which broadcasts programs of interest to labor.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Because the harnessing of the Mississippi to bring about effective flood control and save the property and lives of hundreds of thousands might cause the government to generate electricity and sell it at a low figure to consumers, thus menacing the private profits of the Power Trust, that scientific monopoly, through the General Electric power lobby is preparing to fight to the finish the extensive flood control program that will come up in the next session of Congress. On account of this situation one of the most important battles ever staged against the power trust will be fought in the flood control action.

Floods have been controlled on the Nile in California and elsewhere by means of great reservoirs. These would involve the erection of great dams owned by the government. Such dams would open up vast possibilities of government production and sale near coast of electrical power. Rather than see hundreds of millions of dollars and hundreds of thousands of lives thus made safe, the power trust magnates in order to save their profits, are preparing to defeat this plan. They favor the old levee system which is an extreme and growing danger. Every time a levee bank is built higher more silt is deposited in the bottom of the river and the banks in turn have to be raised still higher until the Mississippi and many of its tributaries are higher than the tops of the houses in many places. The trust will fight to defeat the only safe method of avoiding this increasing menace in order to keep the public out of the field of power production.

From The Pen Of Debs

(Compiled by Theodore Debs)

Organization and Emancipation



The problem confronting the laborer is organization. To organize the working class is to achieve emancipation. But there is organization and organization. There is the kind the master class does not object to, in fact encourage, patronize and support, thus showing themselves to be friends of the working class, but the kind of organization which has the approval of the exploiters is not apt to do anything for his victim. There is another kind of organization that the master class do not approve and commend but on the contrary denounce and fight tooth and nail and that is the kind which has for its purpose the overthrow of the master class, and the emancipation of the wage slave.

This kind of organization is rightly called revolutionary; it is both economic and political in character, does not trim or trade or compromise, but pursues the straight road to its goal, and this kind of organization is positively the only kind that holds out any hope to the working class. The absolute necessity for sound, revolutionary organization is becoming more apparent every day. Without such organization the struggle is vain and the future without hope. The industrial democracy and the so-called republic of which we hear so much and in which we all believe will not come of themselves. They cannot be voted into existence. They have got to be organized and the foundation of such organization must be laid and its superstructure reared within the old system so that when the old system crumbles away the new will be already moulded to take its place and thus prevent lapsing into chaos and disaster from which it would require years and years to recover.

Hand in hand with industrial unity must go the political unity of the workers. They must develop and assert their political power as well as their economic power and make both count for all they are worth in the struggle for industrial freedom. The Socialist party, organized by the workers, is the political expression of their hopes and aspirations and this is the party the workers must build up and support staunchly every step of the way and every hour of the struggle until victory is achieved. So long as the government, including the courts, the soldiers, the police and private armies of thugs, gun-men and man-killers are in the control of the master class all their strikes will be fought under great disadvantages and all the power of master class rule will be used to defeat them and keep them in slavery.

Workers and sympathizers should regard it as their duty to the cause to bend all their energies in this monumental work in spreading the light and speeding the day of industrial freedom.

"The king says, I rule for all; the judge says, I judge for all; the soldier says, I fight for all; the merchant says, I trade for all; the priest says, I pray for all; the working man says, 'I pay for all.'"

John Ruskin.

SOCIALIST PARTY BARES ANTI-SYNDICALISM RULING

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of the United States at its regular quarterly meeting in Pittsburgh, Pa., May 22, 1927, and a subsequent mass meeting in Pittsburgh, passed the following resolution unanimously:

In upholding the Constitutionality of the so-called anti-syndicalism laws the supreme court of the United States and the courts of the State of California have effectively nullified the constitutional guarantees of free speech in America.

However, the organized workers in the present instance the vindictive arm of the law, freed from Constitutional restraint, has struck the two extreme wings of the political and economic movements of labor, Communism and the Industrial Workers of the World. But the lawful president may and in due time undoubtedly will be applied to other opponents of the capitalist oligarchy, including all progressive political organizations and the "legitimate" trade unions.

The Socialist Party of the United States appeals to all its members and supporters to organized labor and all progressive liberty-loving citizens to rise in protest against the ruthless assault on the freedom of speech, the cherished bulwark of our republican institutions, and to wrest the stranglehold of the reactionary ruling classes on our legislatures and courts while they still have some freedom of political action.

War Department and International Is Legion Lead Fight Alarmed By Peace Failure At Geneva

The year 1926 was characterized by the frequency and violence of attacks on various liberal or radical groups by patriotic societies, says the annual report just issued by the American Civil Liberties Union. Many of the attacks on freedom of speech, the report states, have been traced to propaganda emanating from the War Department, the American Legion, and patriotic societies. The Legion is listed in 27 states as being "the most active agency in intolerance and repression." The Ku Klux Klan is stated to have lost its influence in practically every section. The Bible Crusaders and other Fundamentalist groups have originated many of the attacks on freedom of teaching, although the "patrioters" are active here also.

There were 34 lynchings in 1926 as against 18 in 1925. Prosecution under state criminal syndicalism and sedition acts is said to have practically ceased.

Alarmed by the recent failure of the Preparatory Commission of the International Disarmament Conference at Geneva, the Executive Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions has issued a warning and appeal to labor throughout the world denouncing the Geneva meeting as a "disarmament fraud" and calls upon the organized workers to meet the new danger with an intensive, world-wide drive for peace "by means of universal and simultaneous disarmament of all nations."

In part, the manifesto says: "In the consciousness that it is giving expression to the desires and hopes of the masses of the peoples, the I. F. T. U. calls upon all the national trade union centers to start an energetic campaign against all reactionary and militaristic powers. It is now the business of the public opinion of the whole world, led by the progressive and pacifically-minded press, to insure peace by means of universal and simultaneous disarmament."

Where Your Example Counts

Read the big news at the top of page 2. The Sub-A-Month drive is taking. They are coming in. We are going to win. Be among the first to get in. Join while your example will count big. Sign the Sub-A-Month Pledge below and send it to the American Appeal immediately.

Sub-A-Month Membership Pledge Organized Army of the American Appeal

American Appeal, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago:
I hereby agree to obtain for the American Appeal in the future at least one subscription per month, or its equivalent. Enroll me in the Organized Army of the American Appeal.

Name Address

NEWS AND VIEWS

Costly Profit System

The windup of the affair between Henry Ford and the Michigan Retail Merchants' Association over Ford's company stores is worth noting. After persuading Ford to quit selling to the public at unusually low prices in competition with them, these merchants wanted to know how Ford was able to sell groceries so cheap. Ford invited them to elect a committee and investigate. When they discovered that one of the reasons why Ford was able to undersell them was that he conducted his stores purely for service and without private profit, they were no longer interested and dropped the investigation like a hot potato. They prefer to go on with their criminally wasteful system charging all the traffic will stand because it yields them profits. They are not to blame for this. Only our Henry Dubbo is to blame for not installing a Henry Ford system of his own.

Taxing Bootleggers

The capitalist politicians and newspapers are actually discussing with a great show of seriousness whether or not bootleggers should be taxed. How in the world can they tax bootleggers if they cannot locate them? If they can locate them, why in the world don't they? Only our Henry Dubbo is to blame for not installing a Henry Ford system of his own.

Real Nonpartisanship

In Chicago a coalition judicial ticket has been formed consisting of twelve Republicans and nine Democrats. They don't even try to keep up the pretense that there are two parties. It is just a plain division of spoils by two gangs of politicians. The American Federation of Labor is not the only body to believe in a nonpartisan political policy.

Conservative Labor Alarmed by Fascist Wage Cut in Italy

WASHINGTON—American conservative labor forces are alarmed over the forcible 10 per cent reduction of wages in Italy. They see in this brutal example of armed state capitalism part of a general onslaught on wages throughout the world, manifested strikingly at this time also in the Tory attack in Great Britain, the demand for rationalization, and shorter hours by the employers in Germany; the forcible arbitration measure just put through by the reactionary Norwegian parliament, over the protests of the Labor and Socialist members, and the open shop drive behind the present lockout of the soft coal miners in America.

The current issue of the A. F. of L. news letter points out that the Mussolini wage cut is illogical and unbecoming in constricting the Italian purchasing power is only going to bring on more trouble and failure in Italy. In the meantime, however, Labor is slated for dark days and suffering until by its united strength it is able to defeat this suicidal policy and restore the purchasing power of the people.

Party Demands Public Harness Mississippi

Government projects impounding and controlling the Mississippi flood waters and utilizing them to produce cheap power for the people were demanded in the following resolution by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party at its regular quarterly meeting, Pittsburgh, Pa., May 22, 1927:

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party meeting in Pittsburgh calls the attention of the American people to the economic and political implications of the disaster that has overwhelmed hundreds of thousands of men, women and children in the lower Mississippi Valley. This tragedy is due to the lack of foresight of politicians in office who in turn represent a planless system dedicated to the private accumulation of wealth without regard to the general welfare.

For decades this great region and the streams flowing into the Mississippi River have been the scene of reckless destruction of forests and vegetation. In former periods checked the flood waters of this great inland river. Ruthless destruction continued into the modern period, bringing nearer the day when the people of the lower valley would have to pay for the greed for profits and the neglect of governing officials.

Moreover, hundreds of millions of dollars in rich soil have been swept away by each annual flood, this soil erosion inflicts a permanent loss to the nation and requiring enormous funds and labor to restore. Added to the losses sustained by many thousands of poor families in the stricken region and the expense of restoring this region so that it can again be inhabited, we have some idea of the awful price paid for the continuance of an economic system based upon private or corporate gain and the rule of the two dominant parties that represent this system.

The Socialist Party insists that it is still possible through a program based upon human welfare to transform the streams of the Mississippi valley into a social asset for all and forever remove the threat of another flood disaster. We insist that the people of the lower Mississippi valley require a comprehensive program of storing the flood waters by proper engineering projects, harnessing these waters for the purpose of producing superpower and thus contributing to the accumulation of power as the coal fields are exhausted and forever removing the menace of a flood disaster to the people living in this region.

We urge that Congress, instead of spending millions of dollars for military and naval armaments, appropriate sufficient funds to rehabilitate the devastated region, rebuild homes that have been destroyed, and insure the comfort of those who must wait for the restoration of agricultural and industrial activities in their communities.

If in the race for private fortunes in previous decades no account was taken of the penalization of the people of the present generation would have to pay, there is no reason why this policy should be continued. The situation calls for foresight and statesmanship based upon the welfare of human beings and regardless of its effect upon private investments for the enrichment of the exploiters of human kind.

The victims of private capitalist greed have been sacrificed long enough. It is time to end the regime of haphazard and reckless exploitation of natural resources and human beings for the glory and profit of corporate masters. A comprehensive program based upon the welfare of the people and the control of our natural resources and mechanical powers will alone avert another such disaster as that which has come to the suffering people of the Mississippi Valley.

Soft Coal Strike

By Norman Thomas

The soft coal strike drags its weary way almost unnoticed by the public. So far it has been a strike without incident and without results, except that as yet the miners hold their own. And that exception is no mean cause for rejoicing. It is of great importance that bituminous coal mining be kept from an open shop fate. It is also important that some constructive program be suggested. A recent issue of the New Republic reviews and criticizes Mark M. Jones' ingenious plan for private monopoly which he calls "One Way to Stabilize the Bituminous Industry." It ought to be obvious (1) that the present competition in the soft coal field hurts producers and consumers, and (2) that the only monopoly that can remedy things is a properly conducted public monopoly—not the private monopoly plus company unions of which Mr. Jones speaks. A monopoly with safeguards against bureaucracy and union smashing and positive provision for democratic administration.

Student Suicides

The appalling epidemic of suicides among American students is a striking manifestation of the effect of present conditions in this country. Life today in America cannot offer an outlook to the analytic and sensitive young student that is worth living for. If these young men and women had a little social idealism, a little faith that a better world was coming, they would hope and fight on. But social idealism and all movements tending toward it are ruthlessly suppressed in America. The unfortunate American student caught in a blind alley between two blind walls finds an outlet in self-destruction.

Comparison with the cost of living. Basing these figures on the index number 100, representing wages and cost of living in 1913, the fascist government figures show that in 1925, while wages were 503.57, a little over five times in appreciated money, they were in 1925, cost of living was 514. In 1924 the figures were respectively 503.55 for wages and 524 for cost of living. In 1925 they were 564.37 for wages and 605 for cost of living. In 1926 594 and 633 respectively. Not only are the workers working for considerably less than in 1913, but they are now forced at the point of the bayonet to accept a further reduction of 10 per cent.

Italian Exiles Join in Fight on Fascism

(I. F. T. U.) A committee has been appointed in Paris to concentrate all the Italian groups which are combating Fascism; on it are represented the Italian Trade Union Centre, the Socialist Party of the Italian Workers (a section of the Labor and Socialist International), the Marxist-Leninist Party, the Republican Party and the Italian League for the Rights of Man. Under the leadership of Cl. Treves, the Committee is issuing a weekly journal "La Libertà," which will be converted into a daily as soon as possible. This means the creation of a permanent working force in the service of all anti-Fascist elements, which may be of great value, both in promoting the policy of internationally-organized Labor against Fascism in general, and in concentrating and rendering more effective the opposition to Fascism among the Italian workers.

Absence Makes Uncle Sam Fonder

(Oscar Ameringer in the Milwaukee Leader)

Glad tidings. At Hankow, China, we are informed, there is now an American warship for every seven Americans remaining there.

And in the Mississippi flood region, U. S. A., there is now a borrowed skiff for every 10,000 Americans remaining there.

And while the American government is spending five million dollars a month to protect 180 investors in Nicaragua, the Red Cross is begging five millions from private individuals to assist some 200,000 homeless Americans in America.

Yes, and if it's true that absence makes the heart grow fonder, then our marines surely must be fond of the marooned mariners of Mississippi, Louisiana and Arkansas. And by the way, did the man who abbreviated Arkansas to Ark. know that the time would come when Arkansas never needed anything more badly than an ark?

And while on the subject of the Ark, can any of us tell me the difference between Noah and Kellogg?

Give it up?

Well, when Noah heard it was going to rain for forty days and forty nights, he built the Ark. And when Kellogg heard it was going to rain for forty days and forty nights, he sent the Ark to China.

And if there is nothing to be gained by compensation, will some one explain why all the dry states are wet now while all the wet states are dry. Another thing I want to know is why does Providence send a five-inch rainfall to the inundated Bible belt and on the same day let 200,000 Moscow Bolsheviks parade in the dry. But I guess I better shut up before I get in deep water myself.

The Appeal Gaining World Recognition

The American Appeal is gaining world-wide recognition in the Socialist and Labor press. The Australian Worker, official organ of the Australian Labor Party, reprints in its issue of April 13, 1927, the American Appeal's entire New Year's summary of world developments in 1926 under the title, "World Changes in 1926." In a large type, 2 column box introduction The Australian Worker, says:

"The Year 1926 will go down in history as one of the great years of world change to the new social order. The following review taken from a recent issue of the American Appeal (Chicago) makes this fact obvious to the most doubtful."

The Appeal article as reproduced in the Worker covers nearly a half page.

The Labor Journal of Everett, Wash., an A. F. of L. paper, carries an editorial entitled, "What Is Socialism," the greater part of which is a reprint of an article under that head published in the May Day, 1927, issue of the American Appeal. The Labor Journal introduces the Appeal article with these words:

"What is Socialism? This question has been discussed at different times, and many explanations have been given. The following answer on the question is taken from the American Appeal, the official organ of the Socialist Party, and is a very clear explanation."

Magnates Fear Any Constitution Talk

NEW YORK.—Fearing that a Federal constitutional convention would endanger vested interests, the Union League Club of this city expresses disapproval of the agitation for a convention to consider revision of the eighteenth amendment. The club is New York's most conservative and rich organization.

The Union League Club's resolution sets forth that if a convention were called to deal with prohibition its activities could not be limited, but it would have full power to frame and present to the States for ratification any amendments it might conceive.

"In the opinion of the Union League Club," the resolution continues, "agitation for the calling of a Federal constitutional convention at this time is a menace to the peace, vested interests and welfare of all the people."

Danish Socialism

Cares for Poor

COPENHAGEN.—"The Salvation Army and similar institutions have no place in Denmark. Through public poor relief and social insurance the state has taken over all relief usually done by private religious organizations," P. N. Nielsen, head of the Copenhagen city welfare department, tells the "Fæderated Press." "You will hardly find a beggar on our streets. Those who cannot adjust themselves, can come to an institution maintained by the city. They can work there at one of the shops or on the pig farm and can leave when they like."

The colony maintained on the outskirts of Copenhagen looks much more cheerful than would be expected of such institutions. The labor administration of the city has humanized the treatment of the unfortunate. They are paid, in addition to their maintenance and their products do not compete in the open market, being supplied to city institutions. Copenhagen is proud of its Old

Nicaragua's Legal Government Protests American Conquest

Brutal Injustice of Act Laid Before Kellogg by Agent in This Country

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The following protest against the disarming of the constitutional armies of Nicaragua by the armed forces of the United States has been handed Secretary of State Kellogg by T. Seydel Vaca, Confidential Agent of the Constitutional Government of Nicaragua:

The Constitutional Government of Nicaragua has been informed by its delegates now at Managua that Hon. H. L. Stimson, Special Envoy of the U. S. in Nicaragua, has notified General Moncada in writing that unless the Constitutional forces lay down their arms they will be forcibly disarmed by the U. S. marines under command of Rear Admiral Latimer.

While powerless to resist the armed forces of the U. S., the Constitutional Government of Nicaragua desires to place before the Government of Your Excellency, and before all the civilized governments of the world, an unequivocal protest against the assumption of supreme power in Nicaragua by the Representative of the U. S., based merely on military strength, to impose a peace that has no moral, equitable or even practical basis.

The Constitutional Government feels that the role of forcible peace maker in the Nicaraguan strife assumed by said Representative is partial and self interested as it is being played entirely in favor of an unlawful government set up by violence after a carefully prepared plot to oust the constituted authorities elected by the people, that could have never been carried to success, and its executors could not be in power at this moment, without the military support and protection given to them by the U. S. naval forces.

Under the guise of Nicaraguan Government that can hardly deceive anybody, of a regime that has already publicly announced its intention to deliver Nicaragua, its autonomy and material prosperity to those of the U. S. and those of private American concerns. My communication of March 26th, ulto., addressed to Your Excellency contains a detailed account of the plan advanced by the Diaz Government under advice of American advisers to overthrow the legitimate Government of Nicaragua and to install a puppet government under the name of the Republic of Nicaragua.

The Constitutional Government of Nicaragua, therefore, hereby declares: That any contracts, financial or otherwise, with foreign nations, or with any concerns of international treaties entered into by any other government likewise set up and maintained by foreign intervention, are not legally or morally binding upon the Nicaraguan people and will be effective only so far as they may be imposed by superior force.

That it formally declines all responsibility for bloodshed resulting from the enforcement of the Peace Edict by U. S. commanders; That it undertakes the defense of the Constitution, the Law and the outraged rights of the people of Nicaragua against the armed violence of the interventionist forces of the United States; and that it will continue to maintain the attitude of noninterference in the Nicaraguan struggle; had the defenders of the Constitutional authorities known that the protestations of neutrality repeatedly voiced from Washington since the Monroe coup d'état until long after the Constitutional Government had been established at Puerto Cabezas, lacked serious sincerity and were not to be taken in good faith, they would have been forced to continue their political labor by the civic and patient methods to which the people of Nicaragua have been reduced by the first armed intervention in favor of Diaz in 1912.

That contrary to semi-official reports and dispatches from Managua it has not consented to the Stimson peace terms, and, finally,

That by action of the naval forces of the U. S. it may be compelled to cease its military activities only when it is convinced that in this manner it may serve best the welfare of the Nicaraguan people, hopelessly in the clutches of a foreign power.

People's Town, a colony within the city limits, and women receiving old age pensions may live. There is no stigma attached, residents being treated as guests free to come and go. They pay taxes out of their pensions and have the same civil rights as other citizens.

Similar institutions are maintained in other Danish cities by the Social Democratic administrations.

Coolidge Prosperity And Southern Women

WASHINGTON.—Women employed in stores, factories and laundries in 28 cities have received an average of 28 cents less a week than men. That fact is disclosed by the women's bureau, U. S. department of labor. 216 establishments, employing 16,696 women, were the basis for this investigation. They were selected as typical of the larger groups in all communities.

The bureau's investigators found that the median wage for these women was \$11.10 a week and the year's median earnings \$429. "Median" means that half the total number of these working women were getting less than that wage, while half were getting more.

APPEAL'S FEATURE DEPARTMENT

Harry W. Laidler, Editor

Post War Socialist Thought

Efficiency, Liberty And Socialization

In Six Articles Article VI

Editor's Note

This is the concluding installment from Dr. Laidler's chapter on "Post War Socialist Thought," from his excellent work, "History of Socialist Thought." This valuable book may be obtained from Thomas Y. Crowell, New York, for \$3.50.

—M. E. K.

Tawney on the Functional Society

R. H. Tawney has recently attacked the social problem from another angle, that of function. He vigorously criticizes the present order on the ground that, under it, rewards and responsibility bear little relation to the function performed in industry.

"The first principle," declares Tawney, "is that industry should be subordinate to the community, and should not be a means to the end of service technically possible, that those who render that service faithfully should be honorably paid, and that those who render no service should not be paid at all, because it is of the essence of a function that it should find its meaning in the satisfaction of not itself, but of the end which it serves. The second is that its direction and government should be in the hands of persons who are responsible to those who are directed and governed, because it is the condition of economic freedom that men should not be ruled by an authority which they cannot control. The industrial problem, in fact, is a problem of right, not merely of material misery, and because it is a problem of right it is most acute among those sections of the working class whose industrial life is in its infancy. It is a question, first of function, and secondly of freedom."

"Today," he continues, "the enjoyment of property and the direction of industry are considered... to require no justification, because they are regarded as rights which stand by their own virtue, not functions to be judged by the success with which they contribute to a social purpose."

"What gives its special quality and character, its toughness and cohesion, to the industrial system built up over the last century and a half, is the fact that economic rights are anterior to, and independent of, economic functions, that they stand by their own virtue, and need adduce no higher credentials. The practical result of it is that economic rights are performed in a more menial form than in the age of early industrialism. For those who control industry no longer compete but combine, and the rivalry

between property in capital and property in land has long since ended.

"The basis of the New Conservatism appears to be a determination to organize society, both by political and economic action, so as to make it secure against every attempt to extinguish payments which are made, not for service, but because the owners possess a right to extract income from it...."

Tawney therefore urges that humanity reach forward to a functional society, that is, a society which aims at making the acquisitions of wealth contingent upon the discharge of social obligations, which seeks to proportion remuneration to service actually performed, which inquired first, not what men possess, but what they can make or create or achieve.

Tawney takes the older economists to task for failing to observe what incentives actually motivate mankind, and for assuming that four of the five, on the one hand, and profits, on the other, are the incentives that must be relied upon to gain the best results.

Wealth and Welfare

Another young British socialist, William A. Robson, has recently questioned the social efficiency of a system which leads to the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, after individual or a society receives a certain income, further increments to that income bear no necessary relation to increments in welfare. He also calls into question the current belief that a nation's real wealth can be calculated in monetary terms.

"Monetary wealth," declares Robson, "is a most inadequate index of welfare, since it not only ignores all moral or ethical values in reference to that wealth, but excludes from consideration all manner of things, such as, for example, the aesthetic, climatic condition, etc., social harmony, the intellectual atmosphere, and so forth which may have but little relation to an ability to afford clothes of the best wool, or to satisfy carnivorous instincts three times a day. As Mr. Graham Wallas has said, 'the types of non-monetary organization might be equally efficient in the production of wealth and yet life under one might be happy and under another unhappy.'"

It is therefore necessary, concludes the author, to think of material well-being in industrial society in terms of welfare, actual and potential, of large numbers of men, women and children, if we are to move forward to the highest human destiny.

Veblen on Financiers

Certain socialist economists in America have recently developed the thesis that the financiers who are in control of the industrial system are throwing many obstacles in their attempt to place industry on a more scientific basis. Thorstein Veblen thus puts the case:

"Business enterprise may fairly be said to have shifted from the production of free goods to the production of that of a conscientious withholding of efficiency," at least in large scale industry.

The modern financiers "are experts in prices and profits and financial maneuvers; and yet the final discretion in all questions of indus-

trial policy continues to rest in their hands. They are by training and instinct captains of finance; and yet, with no competent grasp of the industrial arts, they continue to exercise a discretion as captains of industry. They are unremittingly engaged in a routine of acquisition, in which they habitually reach their ends by a show of restriction of output, and yet they continue to be entrusted with the community's industrial welfare, which calls for maximum production...."

"So it happens that the industrial system is deliberately handicapped with dissension, mis-direction, and unemployment of material resources, equipment, and man power, at every turn where the state-men or the captains of finance can touch its mechanism; and all the civilized people are suffering privation together because their general staff of officers is trained in the tactics required to take orders and submit to sabotage at the hands of the state-men and the vested interests."

Veblen urges the industrial engineers to organize to put an end to this domination, form a soviet of technicians, unite with labor, and assist in the great social change.

Norman Thomas on International Organization

Socialists have also, since the war, increasingly realized that any scheme of socialization must, if not immediately, then ultimately be considered in terms of a world, rather than a mere national economy.

"These plans," declares Norman Thomas, a prominent American socialist, in dealing with the problem of social ownership, "will doubtless begin with national socialization; indeed they have begun—but unless they are backed up by a genuine internationalism of labor, and of consumers' cooperation, and are accompanied by a development of international machinery for the more equitable allocation of raw materials, they will not solve the problems of social peace and well being."

From Other Angles.—Finally socialists have recently begun to evaluate the newer findings of educators, biologists and anthropologists, as well as psychologists, in terms of the principles underlying the socialist movement and have likewise given increasing attention to actual experiments in industrial democracy in the workshops and their effect on human motivation.

Summary

It is thus seen that, since the war, socialists have attacked the problems of socialization of industry from various angles. They have specifically studied the question of the industrial control by producers, technicians and consumers. They have investigated the problem of industrial incentives; critically analyzed the function of the state and brought to bear upon the movement the results of the latest findings in social psychology, biology and anthropology. This tendency of socialist thinkers to investigate concrete social experiments and to evaluate the socialist philosophy in terms of the new discoveries of social psychology—still in its infancy—is, perhaps, one of the most significant developments in the movement today.

—H. W. Laidler.

American Communism Surveyed

James O'neal, editor of the New Leader, and member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party, has devoted a valuable service to the workers by publishing a book, "The Communist Movement in America," (Rand Book Store, 7 East 15 Street, New York City, 256 pages, price \$1.50 net). Prior to the appearance of this volume, the material on the communist movement in America was scattered in a thousand places, and exceedingly illusive. To have marshaled all of the important activities of this movement from its organization in 1919, not to speak of those of its predecessor, the American Socialist Party, is a notable achievement and gives to the student a perspective of this whole exotic growth in the American radical movement such as can be obtained in no other way. It should be a part of the literary arsenal of all liberals and radicals desirous of avoiding dangerous pitfalls in their progress toward a finer social order.

The book is written throughout in a clear and simple style and its story of the curious mental twists and turns of the underground and above ground communists whose mental life during the hey day of their activity was largely spent in Russia, Poland, Finland, Lithuania and other countries—rather than in the United States where they had their physical being—possesses a fascination of the tales of Siberian refugees of the old Czarist days. The difference is that the latter tales smacked of real battles, not sham, as seemed many of those in America. The book completely pricks the bubble of the 100 per cent organizations who were waxing fat on the theory that the communists will get hold of the American people if they don't look out. It shows that, in 1919, the communist movement never had more than 35,000 to 40,000 members, and that it had never reached that figure since.

"On the contrary," declares O'neal, "the membership has steadily declined since that year. All the numerous organizations that appeared in the period of 1919-21 have been gathered into one, and the sole survivor (the Workers Party) has less than 3000 members. Moreover, geographically it was suffering from 'bourgeois pacifist' ideology, because it

organized Communists are of immigrant origin. After six years of devoted service and sacrifice, the movement has made practically no converts among American workers," and the reasons for this failure are set forth in this study.

"That this small group of organized immigrants could have so thoroughly frightened our bourgeois classes," declares O'neal, "is due to the myth which they cultivated during the war and the postwar period. It is a humorous phase of post-war history."

The story begins with an historical chapter on the force tendencies in the American labor movement of the last century, and the syndicalist group in the movement in the early years of the twentieth century. It proceeds with a description of the Socialist activities during the war and the development of the left wing socialist movement, a well documented chapter on the well of the Communist and Communist labor parties in 1919, and the bitter fight between the two parties, the C. P. being regarded by the C. P. as consisting of "notorious centrists," controlled by the dozen conscious misleaders. Following their conventions came the nation-wide raids by hysterical government officials, who brought within their dragnet some 70,000 persons.

Underground activities followed. The Communists appeared at times to enjoy them. They seemed to be a mark of revolutionary honor. The communists declared frankly for constantly developed. The Communist Labor party disappeared. The Communist and United Communist parties struggled for the mastery. The Communist party for awhile would have nothing to do with the United Communist group. It was, they declared, not sufficiently revolutionary. It had nothing in its constitution guaranteeing to its membership that it would remain underground. At any morning its members might awake and discover that they had been betrayed into a legal, above ground party! The United Communist Party, furthermore, was flirting with the counter-revolutionary organization, the I. W. W. More-over, it was suffering from "bourgeois pacifist" ideology, because it

did not advocate that the workers take the initiative in violently attacking the capitalist class, but urged the workers attack only as a defensive measure.

Finally came the birth of the Workers' party, and the round-about-face of Communist tactics; the development of an immediate program of reform, and the dropping of the language of violence from their platform.

Coming to more recent history, Comrade O'neal tells of the Communist policy of bargaining with the capitalists, the Federated Farmer-Labor party; the activities of the Trade Union Educational League, its initial growth and its subsequent decline, and the disintegrating power of the Communists in the New York needle trade. Throughout, the way in which its every decision has been affected by the attitude of Moscow is brought out.

Comrade O'neal recognized the great amount of devotion and self-sacrifice among the communists; the willingness to risk everything for the cause the members held dear. Yet, no one can put down this book without a feeling of the tragedy of it all—with deep regret that the idealism and devotion in the movement should be so misdirected and mischievous in so many of its activities. In watching the evolution through which the various communist groups went in an attempt to function in the American scene, the lesson is brought home to the reader time after time that no group of Americans can build an effective movement in this country, if they are thinking and dreaming more in terms of the conditions in Russia or in any other foreign country than in terms of the political, social and economic environment in the United States. There is need to face four square the situation in these country, to get hold of the American people where they are, and to guide them to better things.

—Harry W. Laidler.

The well-known promise of good times ahead (dangled before the workers, like the proverbial bundle of straw that hung always just out of reach of the donkey's mouth) means that times will be only a little worse or not quite so good.

Mac Donald's Farewell to American Labor

"Industrial and Political Labor Must March Together"—He Says in Parting Speech

By Harry W. Laidler

It was the same Ramsay MacDonald that I heard towering before the British Labor Party at Brighton in 1921—a little older, a little grayer, a little less vigor as a result of his two weeks' confinement in the Jefferson Hospital, Philadelphia, but with the same social passion, the same poetry, the same vision of the comradeship of the world, the same youthful, his message ever inspiring to those who are marching toward the new day. It was the last meeting of Ramsay MacDonald in New York, and the first opportunity he had to address his Socialist comrades in America on account of his unfortunate illness. And he took advantage of it by urging the absolute necessity of combined trade union and political action on the part of labor if it were ever to gain its ends; by proclaiming again his faith in the ultimate goal of the socialist society; by pleading for the British to build solidly and soundly, in an evolutionary fashion, rather than in a haphazard and violent fashion leading to reaction, by urging a closer understanding between American and British socialists and by predicting the ultimate triumph of the socialist cause throughout the world.

MacDonald had come over to America in large part to address the Thirtieth Anniversary Celebration of the great Jewish Socialist daily, the Forward. Two days before the celebration he was sent to the hospital in Philadelphia suffering from a severe throat infection. He was forced to cancel the addresses at the celebration, at the Foreign Policy Association and before other groups and

to spend two weeks longer in America than he had contemplated. Two impatient weeks while the day over the Tory trade union bill was waging in the House of Commons. No sooner did he return to Henry Street Settlement, New York City, from the hospital than he insisted, despite advice to the contrary, on giving a farewell greeting to his comrades in this country the evening of his sailing, Tuesday, May 17. The Forward called together some two hundred odd of the more active representatives of the progressive unions and of the Socialist party to an informal supper at the Parkview Palace, opposite Central Park, New York. Representatives of the Amalgamated, the International Ladies Garment Workers, the Neckwear Unions, the Millinery Workers, the Workmen's Circle, the Socialist Verband, the Forward Association, etc., were there to do honor to the British veteran and ex-Premier, and his charming daughter, Isabel. The scene, with its decorations and flowers and good fellowship was an inviting one.

Welcoming Addresses

Charney Vladick acted as chairman. He related how he had urged MacDonald, returned from a sick bed in Philadelphia, not to make a single speech before leaving for England, but to conserve his strength. Ramsay was adamant. He refused to listen to Vladick's advice. "I was ordered," declared Vladick, "to proceed with the informal gathering, and I dared not disobey the order of the former premier and the future prime minister of England."

Norman Thomas spoke for the Socialist party. He declared that which happened in England had more profound effect on us than anything that happened in any other parts of the world, and every victory or defeat for the British Labor party had a profound effect upon the radical movement of this country. American socialists realize the great destiny in store for the British Labor party. Alexander Kahn of the Jewish Daily Forward spoke along similar lines. We look to British labor for the light and glory of socialism. In America we seem temporarily marooned in the sea of capitalism. We are looking, however, to British Labor to rescue us from that condition. The American movement is bound soon for a revival.

Abraham Beckerman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers spoke of the concern of the American workers to conserve his strength. Ramsay declared that he looked forward to British Labor coming to power not as a minority government but with a majority of people behind it.

Then followed Joseph Basten of the Workmen's Circle, Judge Panken and Morris Hillquit. Hillquit blamed "the chilly capitalist climate of America" for the sickness of MacDonald. To cap the climax, we sent him to a Philadelphia hospital for a quick recuperation. Hillquit urged MacDonald to return to the country soon. He is a member of the International Socialist and Labor movement with our eyes set on the establishment of an international socialist state. You and the American movement have some difficulties to contend with which we in Great

Britain do not have and we have difficulties to contend which you people do not have. But we have many things in common. And one of the most characteristic of these things is that we have all made up our minds that if labor is going to conquer and is going to use its power for the good of the commonwealth, industrial labor and political labor must march ahead shoulder to shoulder and keep step.

MacDonald Speaks

Comrade MacDonald, massive head, deep set, penetrating eyes, grayish hair, arose to speak, pale with his long confinement.

"I am sadly afraid, he said, 'that what I have to say will be only too obviously the words of a sick man but I could not go away from America without the pleasant and healing medicine of seeing you face to face. It is a great pleasure to meet and talk together with you tonight. One thing that I have already obtained from this meeting and will look back upon with great gratitude when I meet the labor party members in the House of Commons next week, are the words of Comrade Vladick.'"

"Vladick said that when he received instructions from me, he realized that no man could do better than I. I will remind the members of the Labor Party of this time and again when I return to the country."

"We come here tonight as comrades. It does not matter what we have been in the past or what we will be in the future. We come now as members of the International Socialist and Labor movement with our eyes set on the establishment of an international socialist state. You and the American movement have some difficulties to contend with which we in Great

Britain do not have and we have difficulties to contend which you people do not have. But we have many things in common. And one of the most characteristic of these things is that we have all made up our minds that if labor is going to conquer and is going to use its power for the good of the commonwealth, industrial labor and political labor must march ahead shoulder to shoulder and keep step."

"A thing that is hard for us to keep in front of us has been that we have been through a great war and that whatever the war has done or has not done, it has released revolutionary forces which would have been kept in check without it. Those who trust revolutionary action least—and I class myself among them—have to remain objectively minded and see that year after year of the hardest kind of driving in factory and office has not made the state and given to the intelligent working class all sorts of inducements to lose its patience and its temper and to feel that if it only stormed the gates of heaven it would possess them and that by gathering tremendous volume of power the will of the people would be able to pull down the gates and make desired changes. The experience of the last few years has made a tremendous impression on the growing generation. There is no greater task before us at the present time than to keep our heads cool and our temper quiet in order to realize that victory comes not in tearing down but in building up. We should concentrate on evolutionary change. We should try to bring about an enduring and permanent change by evolution. We should re-

alize that the man who builds and the woman who builds solidly and in a workman like manner, who does not erect a jerry built house but who lays stone on stone patiently and systematically is building a structure that will endure the tests of the storm of the coming generations."

"I will be criticized by my own friends—by men and women just as honest as we are—but whether it is old age or experience I have come to a firm and immovable conclusion that those who build solidly and soundly will receive the gratitude of the coming generation."

"If we and Great Britain are to achieve our hopes and aspirations, if we are to fulfill our expectations, it will be, I believe, because we have carried out our work in this spirit. There are of course a number of wings and sections of our movement. We are engaged in a high mission. We are inspired by a high spirit of energy and inspiration in driving beautiful high spirited colts into the great unknown in a glorious adventure after truth and righteousness than in driving old horses around the corner into a neighboring stable. We must be motivated by a high spirit as well as by discipline. The great problem in Great Britain is that of combining such a spirit with discipline. Men must of course work together. There must be team work. If all desire to be captains and to boss the game, instead of a movement of workers and middle class there will simply be a crowd working around in a circle and not knowing the goal toward which it is aiming."

"I bear greetings to you from the comrades of Great Britain. It is a great regret to me that it was my

fate to spend so much of my time in seclusion. I will respond most heartily to Hillquit's suggestion (applause). I will come if I can. I hope I can. I am profoundly convinced that the American movement must not copy us—it would be foolish thing if it tried to—it must attend to business if it did. If the American movement must understand the British and the British must understand the American, by the interchange of view and experience both will be led to victory. My final word is this. When I return to Great Britain and take my chair as I believe I will, I will tell the members of the House of Commons about the kindness and hospitality of the American comrades. More important, I will tell them about their difficulties and the magnificent fight they are making against the teeth of these difficulties. I am that, if we come and go more frequently, we will feel that the Atlantic does not separate us greatly. Whether we are on one side of the Atlantic or on the other, whether we are separated by the Pyrenees or the Alps, we are inspired by the same ultimate ideals. We are learning of the same school of expression. We might not be able to bring Socialism in our own time, but we will be able to build a great international socialist movement that may be thrown back time after time but that will search forward in this place and that until success comes. I believe that victory, triumph, success, are in store for us. I am very proud to give you this hail and sorry that my word must be goodbye. It has been good to speak with you."

2,500,000 Americans Uprooted From the Soil in Five Years

By Leland Olds

A sharp drop in the farm population compared with 1920 and a pronounced increase in the number of farm mortgages are outstanding features in the 1925 farm census of the United States compiled by the department of commerce. The census figures reflect the drastic deflation farmers have suffered since the war boom.

The farm population of the country in 1925, according to the census, numbered 28,981,603. In 1920 the figure was 31,614,269 so that even after allowance for certain differences in gathering statistics between the two census years the farm population appears to have fallen at least 2,500,000.

There were 6,371,640 farms in 1925 compared with 6,444,343 in 1920, and 6,361,502 in 1910. Of these 3,213,490 were operated by the full owners in 1925 and 3,356,510 by full owners in 1920.

The census bureau received reports on the mortgage debt carried by 1,128,207 of these owner-operated farms. The total value of these mortgaged farms, including land and buildings, was \$17,705,231. The total mortgage debt \$1,517,258,682. The 1920 reports covered 1,193,047 mortgaged farms valued at \$13,775,500,013 with a combined mortgage debt of \$4,003,767,192. Thus the combination of a slump in farm values with a steadily increasing mortgage debt has raised the ratio of mortgage debt to the total value of the farms from 29.1 per cent to 41.9 per cent.

Cooperative Growth. The report shows a striking increase in the cooperative sales and purchases of farmers between 1919 and 1924. In 1924 the value of farm products sold cooperatively was \$457,652,166 compared with \$721,987,639 in 1919. But in the meantime farm prices had declined about 36 per cent. At 1919 prices the farm products sold cooperatively in 1924 would have brought \$1,335,000,000. In other words the quantity of farm goods sold on a cooperative basis probably increased 85 percent in the five-year interval.

Cooperative purchases by farmers are not nearly so extensive as their cooperative sales. In 1924 the value of supplies cooperatively purchased was \$75,932,799 compared with \$84,615,669. At 1919 prices the goods purchased cooperatively by farmers in 1924 would have cost at least \$104,000,000, an increase of over 23 percent over the cooperative purchases of 1919.

Capitalists Prosper While Farmers Starve

WASHINGTON—Farm prosperity is not necessary to the prosperity of industry in this country, says the department of agriculture in a statement pointing out the continued high tide of industrial profit and the deepening depression in agriculture. "Farm production still is a principal source of the nation's food products and raw materials," it says. "But our farm population is relatively less important than formerly as a market for industrial goods. Speaking generally, the tendency is to be less and less dependent on the immediate condition of agriculture."

This is the first time the federal department of agriculture questions the manufacturers' traditional argument that prosperous industry brings prosperity to agriculture. The experience of the past five years has forced this confession.

the biggest decrease in any year since 1920, says: "It is estimated that 2,155,000 persons moved from farms to cities, towns and villages last year, and that 1,135,000 persons moved to farms, making a net movement of 1,020,000 persons away from farms. Birth on farms during 1925 are estimated at 654,000 and deaths at 287,000, affording a natural increase of 371,000 persons, which reduced the loss due to cityward movement to 649,000."

Why Business Gain Is Based On Farmer Loss

The American Appeal has repeatedly stated that the prosperity of America's business and banking classes to a very large extent represents values extracted from the farmers. In other words, when you find American business prosperous as it has been during the year just passed, you find the farmers facing extreme poverty and ruin. This was the case last year; the reason being that the business elements got what the farmers produced. This view is contrary to the view the captains of finance and industry try to inculcate, they teach that farm prosperity and business prosperity under the present system are interdependent—that business prosperity is based upon agricultural prosperity and vice versa.

Now comes striking confirmation from government sources of the correctness of the Appeal's Socialist view. L. H. Bean, U. S. Department of Agriculture economist, has just issued data which show that the prosperity of the country's industrial and financial interests is increasingly based on the farmer's difficulties.

The figures show, says Bean, "that relatively low agricultural prices have in the past been accompanied by industrial expansion or continued industrial prosperity, and that on the other hand high agricultural prices have been unfavorable signs for continued industrial prosperity."

Bean points to the last 5 or 6 years as the outstanding example of a period in which industrial prosperity has not been accompanied by agricultural prosperity and shows that similar conditions existed in the years following 1879-80, 1884-85, 1896-97 and 1914-15.

Large crops at low prices which bankrupt farmers mean price business for transportation companies and for handlers of farm products while they furnish industry with cheap raw materials.

"Cheap farm products," says Bean, "also assist industry by releasing purchasing power that would otherwise be absorbed in living expenses. There is little doubt that low food prices in the last few years have diverted considerable purchasing power from country to the town."

"Farm production still is a principal source of the nation's food products and of industrial raw materials. But our farm population is relatively less important than formerly as a market for industrial goods. Moreover, each extension of the urban market for industrial goods further diminished the importance of a prosperous farm community as an outlet for city products."

Here we see developing in America the outlines of an age old story, an urban civilization built up by predatory private interests on the backs of an oppressed farm population.

A system that bases the gains of one class on the losses of another class is manifestly wrong and should be abolished.

Government Shows How Machine Destroys Jobs

By Leland Olds

Substitution of mechanical power and technique for human labor features the U. S. department of commerce report on the increased output of manufactures per worker from 1899 to 1925. The department shows from census figures that the quantity produced per worker employed in manufacturing increased nearly 50 percent in the 25-year period, reflecting a growth of nearly 180 percent in the physical volume of production and of less than 90 percent in total persons engaged.

The figures also show an increase of 256 percent in primary horsepower used in manufacturing. Analysis shows that while the horsepower per unit of output has increased 100 percent the manpower per unit has decreased 33 percent. Twice as much mechanical power is now used for the same amount of product but only 2-3 as much human labor power.

The increase in volume of production, in number of workers employed and in production per worker, as shown by the department figures by industries, were:

Increase in "productivity" Total No. of Pers. of Ind., 1899-25 Output Pers. Output Pers. Food products... 119.8 65.2 33.0 Textiles, clothing... 96.5 63.3 20.3 Iron and steel... 204.4 145.8 23.8 Lumber... 6.8 7.7 -1.6 Leather products... 33.8 38.5 -3.4 Paper, printing... 317.3 156.6 62.7 Chemicals, oil... 365.6 117.7 114.2 Stone, clay, glass... 166.1 69.3 58.2 Non-ferrous metal... 321.7 87.5 124.8 Tobacco products... 164.7 7.7 149.4 Vehicles, autos... 466.0 324.4 111.0 Ship building... 10.1 13.4 7.7 All industries... 170.4 86.9 49.0

The extraordinary figures for the vehicle industry mark the development of the auto since 1899. Taking this industry back only to 1914 we find the total output increased 549 percent the number of workers 97.3 percent and per capita productivity 229 percent. In the rubber industry the figures do not extend back to 1899. Since 1914 its output has increased 392 percent, its working force 92 percent and its output per worker 156 percent.

The increased mechanical power reduced the jobs available per unit of output. In the food industries there has been an increase of 7.3 percent in horsepower and a decrease of 24.7 percent in manpower per unit of output. In textiles horsepower per unit has increased 49.6 percent and manpower has decreased 14.9 percent. For iron and steel the figures are horsepower plus 33.8 percent, manpower minus 19.3 percent; chemicals, horsepower plus 114.2 percent, manpower minus 53.4 percent;

Pennsylvania Miners for Nationalization And a Labor Party

DUBOIS, Pa.—At the 15th convention of District 2, United Mine Workers, which covers the central Pennsylvania coal fields, resolutions were adopted favoring the nationalization of the mines, the organization of a national American Labor Party, and demanding a full investigation of the Sacco and Vanzetti trial and sentence to death by Judge Thayer.

Labor party talk is not thin air in central Pennsylvania. In Cambria county where more than 20 local unions are constituent units of the Labor party 2 assemblies were in office last year, and a number of Labor party bourgeois and chiefs of police. The defeat of the Labor party at the polls last fall is not final. The delegates instructed the union to "assist actively in the formation of such Labor party units where they are not already organized."

Labor Leader Admits Nonpartisan Failure

CHICAGO—Failure in the Illinois legislature of labor's nonpartisan political policy was admitted before the Chicago Federation of Labor. May 15 to President John H. Walker, Illinois State Federation of Labor, who was the Farmer-Labor candidate for governor in 1920, did not advise abandonment of the nonpartisan policy of rewarding labor's friends and punishing its enemies in the old parties. Instead he urged greater energy in pursuing that policy.

David McVey of the lathers took up Walker on the other point and made a spirited attack on the official labor policy of supporting capitalist party friends in the hope of getting labor crumbs out of them after they are safely in office. McVey became Farmer-Laborist about the same time as Walker but has retained his faith in a labor political party.

Norway Bosses Win By Political Action

OSLO, Norway.—Defeated on the industrial field, the Norwegian employers, who have a majority in the parliament, have just given the workers a demonstration of the value of political action. They have forced through a law compelling the settlement of labor troubles involving 15,000 metal, mining, textile and boot and shoe workers who have been locked out about three months by compulsory arbitration. The 23 Socialist and Labor members opposed this bill to the utmost. The judges being of the same mind and parties as the capitalist government will now proceed to "arbitrate" in favor of the bosses. The Social Democratic and Labor parties have united and hope to give the ruling class a dose of political action medicine before long.

and in nonferrous metals an increase of 34.5 percent in horsepower and a decrease of 53.5 percent in manpower per unit of output. There is no remedy for this condition under the present system of private ownership of the machine. The longer the capitalist system lasts the larger will grow the army of the unemployed.

British Laborite Tells Why America Has No Labor Party

By J. R. Smallwood

(In the Labor Magazine, Official Monthly Journal of the Trades Union Congress and British Labor Party) To most British Trade Unionists it must appear incomprehensible that American labor, which in so many things leads the labor world, should of all national labor groups be the very least advanced upon the road of independent labor politics.

Canadian labor, to the North, has at least begun to emulate the example set by British labor. The Trades and Labor Congress, which is precisely the same kind of body as the British Trades Union Congress, has not only opposed the formation of a Labor Party but was the inspiration in Canada of the idea; and it was as the outcome of a resolution of the Congress that the C. I. P. was founded some few years ago. Mexican labor, to the South, has organized itself politically to such good effect as, with the help of the peasants, to place General Plutarco Elias Calles, a Trade Unionist, in the Presidential Palace. Porto Rico, one of the American "dependencies," as well as other South and Central American countries, have Labor or Socialist parties, although courted and importuned for years by the American Socialist Party, has steadfastly withstood—not the temptation, because there has been none—but the argument in favor of independent labor politics. The American worker has not even heard the argument; he is, indeed, not less indifferent to the official political policy of the American Federation of Labor than to that of the Socialist Party. The Federation, which compares with the T. U. C. by possessing very much more authority over the affiliated bodies, numbers about 1,000,000 members out of a population of 120,000,000. It is supposed to have a political policy. That policy has been summed up by Federation officials themselves as: "Reward your (political) friends, punish your enemies!"

This simply means that, without committing the Federation to any party, it advises its members, wherever they reside, to vote for that candidate who is "fairest" to Labor, and against him whom the Federation considers unfair. In each election the Federation rates the candidates, naming this one good, that one bad. And that is the sum and substance of the Federation's political policy. It is doubtful whether the A. F. of L. affects the voting one way or the other of 10 per cent of its members.

For instance, in 1924, because Senator La Follette ran for President on an independent ticket, and there was obviously a strong working class sentiment in favor of him, the Federation for once in its life departed from its regular policy and endorsed the Third Party. Did that win La Follette the votes of the Federation's members? I was present at a special meeting of the Central Labor Council in an American city when the union delegates comprising the Council there was read an important communication from Federation headquarters, calling upon each Central Labor Council to do such and such to aid La Follette's candidacy. There was not one word of discussion. The communication was accepted and it was never heard of again in the council. The delegates were Republicans and Democrats, and were not interested in advice on politics from the Federation: that is the result of a quarter-of-a-century of the "no party politics" policy of the leaders of American labor. In politics the Federation cuts no ice whatever. Then the New York State Federation, a sub-division of the larger body, endorsed the candidacy of Mr. John W. Davis, the Wall Street nominated Democratic candidate for President. A prominent national Labor leader

was himself a candidate for Congress on the Republican ticket. With the help of the Socialist Party's million votes, and the combined official support of the Trade Union Movement, and the support of hundreds of thousands of farmers and middle class non-Trade Unionists, La Follette polled less than five million votes.

Independent labor politics has failed to take hold in America because even Trade Unionism itself has failed to get a sure grip on the American workers. Only the bare fringe of the working class is organized. To most Americans the idea of joining a union is a confession of inferiority, a confession of failure. Most American workers still have unbounded faith in themselves as individuals, and at the most regard themselves as only temporarily members of the working class. Few workers will admit for a moment that they are forever going to be workers. They are half ashamed to be workers. They go to the factories and mills dressed in their best, don their dappled while at work, and before leaving for home change again into their best clothes. They exchange the amount of their wages or salaries and talk about forthcoming increases and their imminent promotion. The only interest they have in "the working class" is enough to make them want to get out of that class. Stories of transference becoming mayors, farmers, bank presidents, errand boys, bank managers, and newsmen, widely circulated by the newspapers, although not so plentiful as they were 40 years ago, give most Americans not only the desire to mount and get rich, but the belief that they can and will. When men are in that frame of mind, they think of nothing less than they do of Labor Parties, or even of Trade Unions. The tradition in America is still one of unlimited opportunity for all, and equal opportunity for all. There was

a day when that was true, but it passed before most of the people now living were born. While there will always be isolated cases of poor boys becoming rich, the fact remains that for the overwhelming mass the faces of success and middle class status. Those American workers who have realistically estimated their own chances of getting rich have not fallen back upon the alternative of a general working class political or Trade Union effort to improve things, but have transferred their personal hopes to their children, which is why thousands of poor men will stint themselves to furnish college educations for their sons. But hundreds of thousands of young men are being graduated from colleges, technological schools, etc., so that special education or technical training are becoming quite commonplace, and will soon command no more remuneration or opportunity than the general run of occupations. The same thing has long ago happened to the office workers.

When will there be an American Labor Party? When the owning class of the two big parties becomes more obvious; when a few more court injunctions are handed out against Trade Unions; when most workers appreciate the facts of transportation, distribution, and communication, including the retailing of necessities, with the consequent result that the last remaining fields for production without capital are finally closed when the workers finally wake up to the fact that as individuals they are long finally and inexorably to be a thing as a working class; when they realize that their only hope of advancing their individual interests lies in the concerted action of that working class—given the conditions there will be an American Labor Party.

Labor Paper Admits Nonpartisan Failure

Tuesday's Election A Lesson for Labor

(From Southern California Labor Press, Los Angeles, May 6, 1927) Probably no more forceful illustration of "Letting George Do It"—only the DIDN'T ever see the scene than the part played—rather NOT played—by trade unionists at the primary election in Los Angeles Tuesday. The Labor Movement, through its regularly established machinery, had endorsed candidates for the City Council in each of the Fifteen Districts. When the votes were tabulated after the balloting the fact was revealed that of the fourteen councilmanic candidates endorsed by Labor, three were elected at the primaries; four came in second and their names again will be on the ballot at the regular election to be held June 7, and seven were defeated outright, the latter being Workman, Criswell, Zahn, Mouser, Byrne, Schweizer, and Edwards.

Of the nine candidates for Municipal Judge who had opposition and who were endorsed by Labor, two were defeated, and one ran a second and will be on the ballot June 7. Valentine swamped Richardson by a vote of 57,187 to 48,092. The two candidates for the Board of Education endorsed by Labor were overwhelmingly defeated, one being at the bottom of the list when the votes were counted. Candor compels the statement to be made that, as a whole, Labor made a poor showing. The fact that the foremost men in the Council—

President Workman and Mr. Criswell—were defeated at the primaries emphasizes the lack of support they received from trade unionists, though each was endorsed by Labor.

There is a cause for every effect. Nothing "just happens." Many causes will be assigned to the outcome of Tuesday's election. One may be as good as another. The "Labor Press" sees in it a valuable lesson for trade unionists, with the consequent result that politically if they hope to be as successful as they are industrially.

The "Labor Press" is not in accord with thousands of earnest, sincere union members who believe Labor should not take political action, that it should confine itself to industrial fields.

We believe in using every weapon that is used against us, and we believe in using them THE RIGHT WAY our enemies use them. Labor received a swift kick Tuesday, and the inevitable will be a loss of courage, industry as well as politically. This especially is recognized by those unionists who insist that Labor should "keep out of politics." However logical argument can be advanced for fighting with only one fist.

We must learn to use BOTH.

There will be those who will say, and truthfully so, that even if Labor in the United States will not en to the realization that its salvation does not lie in "endorsement" candidates who announce themselves for office prior to their coming Labor.